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were sung and shamanistic performances executed. Emotion was built up and released. At the end of the series of dances all were more content to await the coming of spring.

THE DAILY ROUND

The summer day often began before sunrise in the Sanpoil household. With the aid of dry pine needles or sagebrush bark an old woman, always the first to arise, brought to life the fires which had been banked the night before with hardwood and knots. This accomplished she wakened the children, prodding them on the soles of the feet with the fire tongs if they were slow. Immediately upon leaving their beds the boys and girls ran to their respective bathing places on the river. They plunged into the water two or three times, the bolder ones diving, then hurried back to dry themselves around the fires. While they stood there they were tutored by the old woman in the knowledge and ideals of their people. Men were allowed to rise at their leisure but the old woman called and chided the younger women if they were not soon out of their beds. Babies were permitted to sleep as long as they would.

The younger women departed immediately to pick berries or discharge other duties while the morning was yet cool. The children soon left to play in the sands of the river bank. The old women swept the floors, rolled up the unoccupied bedding and kept the fires burning. When the men arose they went to their sweat lodges or to the fishing platforms to spear salmon. Old men bathed and returned to sit around the house. As soon as the babies awakened they were bathed in baskets of warm water and placed in their cradles.

About ten o'clock those who had been away returned. The women turned to preparing the morning meal. Water was brought from the river in which to cook the salmon. The fish were cut up and put in the cooking basket with hot rocks with which the water was boiled. After the water had been kept boiling for about twenty minutes the food was ready. The salmon were removed from the basket with a sharp stick to be placed on the eating mat which had been unrolled on the floor. Fresh berries were served in a basket. If camas had been cooked with the salmon the cooking basket itself was placed on the mat along with a large horn spoon. The men and children were called and all seated themselves around the mat. The men sat with their legs beneath them, or outstretched; women sat on one foot or folded their legs together under them. Children ate with their elders only if no strangers were present. Invalids were fed later.

After the meal was finished the mat was laid out in the sun and the baskets were washed and hung on pegs in the lodge. Men devoted the remainder of the morning to dressing. Women did not take as long; when they were through they combed their husbands' hair. The early afternoon was given over to social activities, particularly gambling and visiting.

The evening meal was served at dusk. It differed little from the morning meal. Afterwards the children gathered around the reclining old people and begged for stories. The young men went out to smoke and discuss affairs of the day with their comrades. The young women attended to small duties about the

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THE CYCLE OF LIFE

BIRTH AND INFANCY

In considering the life of the individual it is necessary to begin with conception, for the actions of the parents during the months prior to birth of a child were considered of major importance in determining the characteristics and fortunes of that child. The mother's conduct was of greater importance than the father's as regarded the child's future, and the majority of the tabus were directed against her, but the father's actions were also considerably circumscribed. The first pregnancy tabus were more strict than those enforced subsequently, or at least they were more rigidly complied with. During the latter months of the first pregnancy a woman's mother usually stayed close by her, encouraging her, acquainting her with customary methods of discharging duties which befell a mother, and making certain that the pregnancy tabus were not broken. Since residence was patrilocal it was necessary for the pregnant woman (sɪtsɪnt'ukui'ltxᵘ) to change temporarily her abode to that of her mother. The husband usually stayed with his own people until shortly before the child's arrival. 843

The period of the first pregnancy was characterized by Burke as one of unhappiness and fear. It seems that the older women, including the mother, repeatedly cautioned the young woman that she would die if any of the multitudinous tabus were broken.[1] In addition to the observance of these tabus, the woman was required to undergo a regular program of physical exercise. This consisted principally of swimming (in cold water), walking, running, and (recently) horseback riding. A pregnant woman was required to get up no later than sunrise and was not allowed to sleep during the daytime. These rules were designed to strengthen the woman in preparation for the ordeal to come. 152 861 843

There was no tabu against quarreling, but care had to be taken about insulting another or incurring his ill will for fear he might have power to inflict malfortune upon the child. The woman was required to eat only lightly during pregnancy, else her health would be impaired, the child's head would be large and delivery difficult. Specific food tabus usually applied both to a woman and her husband. Some of these follow: Speckled trout was prohibited; if eaten the child would cry a great deal and shake like a trout. Rabbit was not to be eaten; if it were the child would have weak legs. The flesh of the hawk and eagle or anything killed by those birds were tabu; if the tabu were broken the child would have cramps. If pheasant were eaten the child would cry until out of breath, then have convulsions. Meat in general was not eaten for an indefinite period preceding childbirth, and at no time during pregnancy was any meat eaten which was not strictly fresh. Eating of the fool hen was prohibited; else the child would be foolish. 262 [578] 843

Tabus other than those relating to food were of various natures. A pregnant woman was permitted to attend funerals, but not to look at the corpse. If she did her child would be cross-eyed and open-mouthed, like the corpse. She was not allowed to go near any thing that had been recently killed, and had carefully to 784 843

[1] Burke knew of only one woman that had actually died during childbirth.

CHILDHOOD

553 851 At some time between a month and a year of age a child received a name. This name was usually that of a comparatively recently deceased relative. It was conferred by an elderly person, a kin of the child. Grandparents very often functioned in this matter. It was upon the invitation of the child's parents that the name was given. No compensation was made for the service. Parents seldom named their own offspring. The name received at this early age might in theory be retained throughout life, but in practice this was seldom the case. Almost every individual acquired at least one more name later in life.[8]

304 855 During the first ten years of life, usually quite early, the ears of a child were pierced for receiving earrings. This applied to both sexes. From one to eight holes were punctured. If only one or two were made they were in the lobe; if more, the periphery of the ear was utilized. Thorns from the hawthorn were used in making the holes. The thorn was cut off on either side of the ear, leaving a part in to keep the hole open. No feast or ceremony was held in this connection.

855 961 A child's deciduous teeth were allowed to fall out; at least they were not pulled out by parents. A child was cautioned not to put its tongue or finger in the cavity or the new tooth would appear at a different place.

Children who cried a great deal were told that they would be carried off by Owl or Bobwhite and eaten. These birds came with big baskets in which they gathered children for food, it was said, selecting the children that were heard crying. Disobedient children were threatened with ghosts, but masks were not used to scare them.

Corporal punishment was almost never resorted to by parents, but formalized whipping by old men was common. Upon the infraction of a minor rule of conduct by one child not only the offender was punished but all other children of the community too. The parents of the erring child called in an old man who ordered the children in the house to lie, face down, on a blanket in the middle of the room. They were given a few light blows with a whip made of several sage brush or willow limbs tied together. He then visited all other houses nearby and repeated the performance. In any one community the same old man was usually called upon to function in this wise. He was not compensated.

When a child was guilty of serious misconduct it was told that "the old man from up the river" was coming down. The parents secretly notified the old man that locally acted as disciplinarian, who soon appeared disguised and wearing a large robe. He removed the robe, grasped his switches and commanded that the child lie down. The parents urged the child to "lie down before the switches became too coarse." This time the whipping was much more severe. If the child cried it was lashed more. When the old man finished and was preparing to leave he said to the child, "Now if you are not good the other man from up the river will come down and he is much stronger than I am. He'll whip you harder."

1 There was no yearly whipping ceremony.

[8] See pages 113-14.

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Children were very little restricted in their actions. The rules of conduct, the violation of which would result in punishment, were not numerous. Most of them were designed to protect the tranquility of the home and the complacency of the older persons. Children were not allowed to bring their toys or rocks and sticks into the house or to play in the house. Persons who were elderly or sick were not to be annoyed. Visitors were to be respected. When a shaman was present, especially if practicing, all children were required to remain unobtrusive and quiet. Stealing or deliberate destruction of property were other serious offenses. Fighting between children was frowned upon.

Parents continually reproached children for causing minor annoyances but the latter soon became negatively adapted to such railery, especially since the threats were seldom carried out. Grandparents customarily defended children and seldom criticized them. They petted them and played with them more than their parents. As a result children were often, (usually, Covington said), more fond of their grandparents than of their parents. The oldest child and youngest child of a family were often somewhat favored. They were not, however, considered brighter or stronger.

Recently children have been teased on their birthdays. Older persons threw water on them and annoyed them in various other ways.

Children ate their meals with their parents except when strangers were present, in which case they were served later. The members of the family did not seat themselves around the food mat in any given order, but since the mother served the children they usually sat near her. Children were forbidden to eat marrow from the bones of a deer under penalty of becoming weak and unable to run uphill. They were given meat from the part of an animal which had been pierced by the arrow so that they would become strong and be able to withstand wounds. The part of a fish pierced by a spear was also given the children for the same reason.

The physical development of children was closely watched. Each morning, summer and winter, they were required to get up at sunrise and immediately run to the river and bathe, plunging in several times. In addition to this daily bath they were held to a rigorous program of swimming, which was considered of utmost importance in the development of a strong body and the establishment of immunity to disease. Cold water was thought to be more beneficial than warm. Children were taught to swim far out into the swift currents of the river. Besides generally developing the body this insured against drowning in the event of capsizing a canoe. Running was emphasized second only to swimming. The two were often combined. A child was told to run as far as possible after finishing his swim. Running, particularly uphill, while holding the breath as long as possible, was repeatedly practiced.

Children were expected, though not required, to regularly discharge certain duties while yet quite young. Boys helped in carrying packs when travelling and accompanied the men on hunting and fishing expeditions where they looked after the dogs and performed other odd chores. Young girls assisted their mothers in digging roots and picking berries, or were sent out alone to perform such tasks.

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462 At home there were numerous bits of work to occupy their attention. The techniques of basket making were learned through observation during these years but the average girl did not begin practical training at such work until near adolescence.

577 The mental and moral development of the child was no less jealously attended. During the formative years instruction and advice were constantly given by the old men and women concerning the customs, mores and traditions of the people. There was ample opportunity during the long winter evenings to drill the children in the material of which an intimate knowledge was necessary for a well educated and oriented individual; and to impress upon them the ideals of their people. They learned at such times, too, the lore of their fathers. The myths and legends were not customarily told to the children, but were recited in their presence. Also, in the winter time it was often difficult to sleep during the bitterly cold hours of the early morning. Such waking hours were commonly spent in giving advice and instruction to the younger members of the family. John Tom succinctly summarized the teachings and ideals:

"Children should always take great care to follow the advice given by their elders so that they might not die young. They should preserve all the food that they obtain, wasting none, for that is their body. They should be kind and speak ill—pierce the heart—of no one. Much pains should be taken to keep clean. No morning should pass without bathing. All bad habits — lying, stealing, even in hard straits—should be carefully avoided. And never should any of the customs of the people be broken or disregarded."

852 The first game and the first fish caught by a boy were the occasion for feasts. The first roots and the first fruits gathered by a girl were recognized by similar celebrations. A few guests were invited, principally relatives, but the feast was not an elaborate one. At the boy's ceremony the men officiated; at the girl's the women were in charge. The feast included that which had been obtained by the child. The child was present, but was not permitted to partake of any of the food. Old men or women spoke to the child, urging hard work so that great success might be achieved as an adult. No presents were distributed.

The first deer killed by a boy or young man was disposed of in a somewhat different manner. The father of the boy cut the animal into a sufficient number of pieces so that one piece could be given to each lodge in the village. None was kept by the boy or his family. The boy was, however, allowed to keep the hide, which was made into a shirt for him. If he ate any of the meat he would acquire a compulsion for biting his fingers. Also, he would never again be able to kill a deer.

PUBERTY

88 For a ten-day period at puberty (sləxo'mxa) but not necessarily coincidental with the first menses, a girl was isolated from the rest of the community.[7] During this time she occupied a small mat hut a short distance from the settlement,

[7]Burke said that these observances took place at about sixteen years of age, "when white spots appeared on the face."

QUEST OF THE SUPERNATURAL

THE GUARDIAN SPIRIT QUEST

At an early age every Sanpoil boy sought a guardian spirit. Girls went on similar quests if their parent so desired. In the case of the boy there was no alternative. No parent would jeopardize the future of his boy by permitting neglect in this matter. Only the meanest kind of an existence could be anticipated by a young man who had passed puberty without having obtained a supernatural tutelary. Perhaps one man out of ten—certainly not more— failed in all attempts to gain a guardian spirit. Most men boasted more than one. The average woman, on the other hand, never obtained such a helper, but nevertheless led a satisfactory life. The fortunate twenty or thirty per cent who did receive spirit power, however, thereby placed themselves entirely on a par with men and opened unlimited opportunities for achievement.

Since obtaining power was of so great importance the quest—or rather, the series of quests—began early. Few individuals were fortunate enough to obtain a spirit on the first attempt. Frequently a boy began his search as young as eight years of age. Each vigil lasted but one night. The period was of this short duration, perhaps, in consequence of the extreme youth of the seeker, but it was not lengthened as he became older.

A boy did not go of his own accord. An old man, usually a relative and most often a grandfather, assumed charge of the child in this connection. He set the time and designated the place where the youth was to go. It was seldom necessary to inform him as to the object of the quest or the manner in which he was to conduct himself. All this he was certain to have learned by the time he reached eight years of age. But such general tutelage as this was often given: "Keep your ears open. Do not let a single sound escape you. If someone approaches you do not run away. Talk to him. He may have something to say to you. And do not go to sleep. Stay awake until dawn and then return." Sometimes specific directions were given. He might be told to go to the top of a certain mountain where he would find two rows of rocks arranged like players in a stick game. There he was to build a fire and sit in the middle of the row with the lesser number of rocks. Sitting there he was to go through the motions of playing the stick game. Or the lad might be given directions such as these: "Go to the shore of (a certain) lake where the water is deepest. Shout loudly three times, then dive and stay under water as long as possible." To make certain that the child visited the spot designated the old man gave him a peculiarly shaped stick, a piece of hide or some other unique object to deposit at the destination, with the understanding that its presence there would be checked later. Actually the ascertainment was seldom carried out. If objections were raised to undertaking the quest whipping was threatened.

The search was started at sunset. The seeker wore few if any clothes, even in the winter. The destination was reached as soon as possible, but the distance was usually such that the journey took several hours. The first act of the seeker

342 stead of a feast, the women passed salmon
and bitter-root in a wooden dish to everyone.
574 As Lucy Joe said, "This was to pay for the
house, so that everyone would live all
796 winter."

That evening everyone returns to the
342 chief's house for "the washing of the house,"
a ceremony at which all adolescent children
852 are whipped ceremonially by a chosen man to
strengthen them. It is believed that if a
[761] child cries, it will not live long. Small
groups away from the chief's village hold
●861 the ceremony in the largest house of the
group. A blanket is spread on the floor on
which each child, fully clad, lies in turn,
to receive about five strokes of the whip.
Smaller children are given fewer lashes, and
if a father thinks his child too little he
takes the blows himself, but the following
year the child will have to undergo the or-
deal. Each child is whipped in this fashion
once a year between the ages of five and
eleven. Cecile explained the ceremony: "It
is just like cleaning the house to do this."[38]

592 All members of the house eat together.
Each family keeps its supplies separately on
422 an outside platform. If married children
are living with the parents, their supplies
are kept together. The women cook together.
Each person has a regular sleeping place
along the wall and here, near his bedding, he
keeps his personal possessions. Bow and
arrows are hung on a loop fixed to one of the
house posts to keep them from being knocked
about.

592 One of the oldest men who is known to
have much wisdom is usually looked up to as
554 a house leader. Billy Joe asserted that he
was one with considerable spirit power. If a
man is of good character (xast) he will take
the advice of an older man even though he is
not closely related, although it is not ob-
[578] ligatory. A man who does not have this type
of respect for his elders is called qast, as
would a disobedient child. There is no auth-
[361] ority who determines where in the chosen vil-
lage site a particular family is to set up
its house, or where in the house the beds
are to be. These matters are settled by
592 mutual consent without any discussion. Three
women in the same house may share one fire-

38 See also Individual Life Cycle.

THE INDIVIDUAL LIFE CYCLE

By MAY MANDELBAUM

THE LIFE CYCLE

851 A baby born among the Sinkaietk had no
852 real social position. His mother remained in seclusion in the special lodge in which she had given birth to him, and none but women touched him. After some days he was brought forth to be welcomed and blessed by the community, represented on this occasion by a small group of the old people. Then, strapped on his cradle board, he accompanied his mother as she resumed her routine tasks. Not until he was a year or more old was he
[553] given real social status. Then a feast was held in his honor and he was given one of the family ancestral names.

855 For a few years his life was very easy. He was trained to keep out of danger, and to respond politely to adults and their requests, but he had no responsibilities and few duties, and was free to spend most of his time in play with the other children of the village.

857 As he grew older he was made to assume
● 861 further duties, and a somewhat more formal education was begun. The boy learned to hunt and to fight; the girl assisted in root-digging and berry-picking. In the evening the children heard the folk tales, and the moral lectures given particularly for them by the old people. From the major part of
[881] the religious life they were definitely excluded until the series of rites which took place at puberty.

883 After puberty, childish pursuits abandoned, the adolescent spent his time learning techniques and preparing to take on
885 adult functions. After some years spent thus it was time for marriage, which was rather
[591] unceremonious. Then the couple went to live at either parental home. Life continued in much the same fashion as before, the boy sharing the masculine pursuits of the group,
[843] the girl busy with food-getting and cooking. The wife's pregnancy placed herself and her husband under many restrictions and tabus for the sake of the child, but a short time after its birth the old routine was reestablished.

554 When "powers" for special aptitudes came back to the adult at the winter dance, social differentiation for the individual really began. This brought about some differences in position, which meant, however, only purely individual prestige.

888 With increasing age came change in po-
761 sition, less active roles being played by the elders. Finally came desertion or loss of the spirit guardian, and with it, death.

855 sometimes slept when the village was very crowded with visitors. They played games
857 such as the cup and pin game, and also most of the adult games, but without the gambling. Little girls made themselves little dolls of of stone and bark.

858 To some extent the children were treated as adults. The desires of children only a few years old would be considered and consulted in such matters as the making of protracted visits. In return, they were expected to act according to group standards, to be polite and instantly obedient. While a woman cared for her own children, even in a plural household, children were expected to
●861 obey all their elders. Bad behavior was punished by whipping, either by the parent or by some old man delegated to the task. Occasion for this was said to have been rare. Children were frightened into behaving by saying, "The owl (or night hawk) will bite you." Certainly today most of the children are very well-behaved, and one little girl whose peculiar upbringing had "spoiled" her considerably, was considered an exception by all, including the other children.

A boy might go to stay with relatives for a time if he chose, but he would never run away to them if mistreated at home for fear that his father would punish him even more severely.

861 In addition to that education which came with play, a more formal sort was undertaken. Lectures were delivered morning and evening by an old man of the family. These contained injunctions to be industrious, honest, clean, liberal and respectful. They
[538] were not coated in sugared allegory or fable, and did not provide the same sort of pleasure as did listening to the ordinary tales, which were never directed to pedagogical ends.[7]

There seems to have been some prizing of the knowledge thus handed on.

[539] A sad tale is told of a widow who desired that her young son get his share of the lecturing. She sent him to listen to the words of wisdom being imparted by a neighboring elder to his grandsons. The old man would not allow this, so the poor boy got what he could by listening outside the lodge. He took all the words to heart, and grew to be wise and respected, but the grandchildren, careless of the worth of what was too easily theirs, disregarded the advice and grew up shiftless and worthless.

866 Character training was also practiced in making the boys and girls rise early every morning and go swimming, however icy the water, to insure their growing up to be energetic.

7 On the telling of stories, see Diversions.
8 See also Social Organization.
9 Teit, Salishan Tribes, 281.

538 There was no distinction between tales for men and women, adults and children. However, Billie Joe said that his grandfather
562 used to send his sisters away because certain tales were considered unfit for girls to hear. Probably each individual was familiar with all of the tales and could tell them on occasion, yet this familiarity did not lessen the eagerness with which a story was received at any telling. Favorite legends were those in which Coyote, the hero-trickster, was the chief actor. A Coyote myth invariably evoked interest and laughter, no matter how often it had been told.

538 Stories were told to adults chiefly in the evening. During the day, children would
•861 gather around an old man or woman for hours, demanding tales. These were seldom for the purpose of pointing a moral. Many tales contained educational matter, such as direc-
[868] tions for making tools, houses or clothing, the preparation of food, technique of the hunt, or rules for playing games; but these points were not emphasized. Ideas of cosmology and ethical concepts were all im-
[864] plicit in the myths and were doubtless absorbed by everyone in childhood through the medium of the story-teller; yet there was no formalization of tales, no ritual of myth, no secrecy or sacredness.'[1]

A story was sometimes ended with a little formula. At the conclusion of the tale, the teller spat upward (spraying the moisture instead of a solid stream) and said, "Rain a little; clear up again; get warm; Sun, shine and let the children play around outside." This was considered as a prayer to Qwūlēncōltēn, but was not requisite for story telling. All stories were concluded, however, with a formal phrase, "Then I came back" (ɣōɫxEntsɣaī or xīkē'kīkē'nsplāk). The individual tale-teller sometimes elaborated on the formal ending, as "Then I left them [the characters in the myth] and came back, and I have been living here ever since," or "I told him I would leave him; so I came back," or the like.

Several types of tale are distinguished: tcaptī'klāh (?), myth; insīm'a'pElūks, "French" fairy tale; kūmaīxī'ts, a narrative of a recent event.

GAMBLING AND POWER

525 Gambling was highly important in the leisure life of nearly every adult man or woman. Some men, and occasionally a woman,

[1] [For footnote, see p. 185(A), category 116. -- Analyst]

p. 185 (B)

5: Teit E-5 (1904-09) 1930 Southeast Salish
Coeur d'Alene

closed hands are placed alongside each other and shaken once. Two shakes means "twenty," three shakes "thirty," and so on.

126. *Greeting.*—As a sign of greeting and good will or respect, on meeting one another, people clasped or placed together their right hands, but did not shake the hands nor press nor squeeze them, as most whites do. Another common method of greeting, probably most common among women, was the making of what may be called the "good will" or "blessing" sign, which is the same as that used by the Thompson.[279] It was made with both hands, from the head or the shoulders, down the front of the body or front of the arms, to the legs. This was usually repeated two or three times, but sometimes done only once. Often it was begun with one hand on each shoulder of the person, and the hands continued to touch the person's body as they were drawn down. This sign was also made to a person as a greeting from a little distance off, as the whites do sometimes by lifting the hat or waving the hand instead of going up and shaking hands. The person making the sign generally uttered the word "*hwic*" [280] from one to four times. These forms of greeting, it is said, were the only ones used between the Coeur d'Alêne themselves and between them and Salish and some other tribes. With a number of Plains tribes and some Shoshoni a different form of greeting was used. The right arm was passed around the person's neck and the left hand placed on his right shoulder. The cheeks were then pressed or rubbed, and often a snapping noise was made with the mouth at the same time. In later days the handshake of the whites superseded all the old forms of greeting.

127. *Signals.*—Signs similar to those used by the Thompson and other tribes were used on vacating camps and on trails as notices to other parties. Signals and calls were also frequent and were much like those of the Thompson. When hunting in bushy and timbered parts of the country, especially when driving game, whistling and cries were used to regulate the pace of the hunters or drivers and to keep them in line. If the distance between the drivers was small, each man whistled in a low tone now and then as he walked along. If farther apart, each cried softly "Hô, hô!" Often when the men were in line, and ready to start, the hunting chief from his position gave a whistle or cry as a signal to start. Each man took it up in turn and at once started. Sometimes the hunting chief would signal by whistle or cry at almost regular intervals, the cry being passed along. In this way he knew the position of the drivers, how they

[279] *a*, p. 287, No. 86.

[280] The Thompson almost invariably utter this word when making the sign. The word is also used to children when a person is well pleased with them or when they do something deserving of pity or praise. Men among the Thompson hardly ever use the expression, but it is commonly employed by women, especially old women.

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Some women's names are *Sai''mōsā*, *Yaromi'*, *Siyō''ɛ*, *Xwa'mcɛnma'*, *Xaxae'tcɛn* (a similar name occurs among the Thompson), *Stwōlɛmcɛna'*, *Wilɛwōlɛma'*, *Siyaxta'*, *Si''pal*, *Tcɛmtā'l*, *Xwɛotsti'*, *Tc'ā'ane* (a similar name occurs among the Thompson and Shuswap), *Doxwal al da'renc* ("moon fell"), *Qaxpi'(tsa)* ("turned-up robe or blanket"). (A Spences Bridge woman has this name, and it also occurs among the Okanagon.) Women's names are as a rule harder to translate than men's. 551

It is said that parents sometimes received names in dreams which they were told to give to their children.

Descent was reckoned in both the male and female lines, and children received names from both sides of the family. Slaves took Coeur d'Alêne names given them by their masters and these names became the property of their descendants. Horses and dogs were named in the same manner as among the Thompson.[257] Most of their names were nicknames. 551 671 [552]

PROPERTY.—The institutions of the tribe were on the whole paternal and almost the same as those of the Thompson.[258] Male relatives took precedence in the inheritance of property. In the family the male elders ruled, although the women had the right to advise and express their opinion in almost all matters, and often their advice was asked. The father and elder male relatives generally instructed the boys; and the mother and elder female relatives the girls. The father, grandfather, or uncles, or all of them, frequently admonished and lectured the children and members of the family on morals or ethics and behavior, and encouraged the children to be industrious and to persevere in obtaining knowledge and powerful guardian spirits. They also advised them to perfect their physical and mental qualities, so that the boys might become noted warriors, hunters, chiefs, or shamans; and that the girls might become women of good quality and thus obtain the best husbands. 421 861

The woman generally followed her husband and lived among his people. Levirate prevailed, as in other Salish tribes. A woman's effects were distinct from those of her husband's; and each was the absolute owner of his or her own personal property. The husband and wife often gave presents to each other and to their children. Personal property consisted of tools, weapons, clothes, bedding, lodges, horses, dogs, baskets, mats, etc. Food was family property, and in charge of the head woman of the house. Lodges were often family property, especially skin lodges, but many of them belonged to the women. Mat lodges generally belonged to the women, as men had nothing to do with the gathering of the materials and the making of them. In the case of skin lodges, the men provided the hides, but 421 587 591 [431] [460]

[257] a, p. 292. [258] a, pp. 293, 294.

5: Teit E-5 (1904-09) 1930 Southeast Salish
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while other Indians consider that the shape of the head was not altered by them, excepting perhaps a very little in exceptional cases, probably when mothers used the pads in a careless manner. It is said that long ago the Nez Percé also used pads like those of the Coeur d'Alêne for holding the heads of infants steady; but whereas the Coeur d'Alêne never tightened these pads more than was necessary, many of the Nez Percé tightened them intentionally to flatten the heads of infants. Infants' heads were thus flattened intentionally by many families of all the Shahaptian tribes, the pad-strings being pulled very tight. The custom of fostering children was fairly common.

WHIPPING ORDEAL.—It is said that a long time ago, when all the Indians were living in the ancient way, there was a whipping ordeal each winter, through which nearly all the children and young people had to pass. In many places it was held several times during the winter. This ordeal was thought to make the children hardy and good. It seems to have been the same kind of whipping ordeal as was practiced by the Thompson [301] until recently.

PUBERTY.—There were a number of ceremonies similar to those of the Thompson at the time of attaining of puberty of both sexes. They formed part of a course of training undergone at this time of life by adolescents, that they might become healthy, strong, industrious, and capable men and women. Most of these ceremonies, especially those of girls, have not been practiced for so long that very little of them is remembered now. When the Coeur d'Alêne turned buffalo hunters most of them dropped out of use. It appears, however, that they were similar in extent and character to the ceremonies practiced by the Thompson. Possibly there were not quite as many restrictions, and the Coeur d'Alêne resembled in this respect, perhaps, the Shuswap and Okanagon. However, according to Coeur d'Alêne informants, tradition says that there were a great many, although none of them could tell much about them. Girls, on attaining the age of puberty, lived apart in small tents made of brush and mats, where they were attended and instructed by their mother, aunt, or grandmother. Their hair was done up in a knot near each ear; and they wore scratchers and combs on a string around the neck. During the training period, which lasted several months, they had to practice various kinds of work to make themselves efficient, and to follow certain customs to insure for themselves good luck in after years. They had to bathe and sweat to make their bodies clean and strong.

Boys at puberty had their hair tied in a knot at the back of the head. The parents generally arranged their children's hair during their training period, as the children were not supposed to touch the hair. The reason given for the tying of the hair in knots by both sexes at this period was to assure its growth, so that the hair would

[301] *a*, pp. 309, 310.

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be thick and long in after years. The period of training for boys was longer than that for girls, and appears to have been conducted in the same manner as among the Thompson and Nez Percé.[302] The importance to boys of gaining a guardian spirit was much greater than to girls; and it seems that training was always continued by boys until this object was attained. All persons training, whether male or female, obtained "power" or "mystery" in some degree. A person who went through no training would not be efficient in physique or in skill. Neither would one be as hardy, energetic, and industrious as a person who had trained even a little. Considerable importance was attached to mental training in certain ways. To attain success, persons had to concentrate the mind as much as possible on the object of their desire. They tried thus to obtain a vision. Emotions, such as anger, disappointment, sexual desires, should be suppressed. The youth should enter into a state of calm and expectancy. With the guardian spirit the novice generally obtained a song. Some obtained more than one song from their guardian spirits. Sometimes the song was heard and no one seen. Some obtained several guardian spirits and several songs, generally one from each. Some men could get *en rapport* with their guardian spirits at will, and were informed by the latter of things that would happen. Some could tell what people said about them behind their backs, and they could read people's thoughts and judge their intentions. Many of these men became shamans.

The old people made boys and girls bathe in cold water every day. This was to make them strong, hardy, and able to endure cold. It was also believed to make them healthy, immune from colds and sickness, and able to recover quickly from wounds.

TATTOOING.—The first tattooing on boys and girls was generally done at the age of puberty. Some of the designs tattooed, especially those on boys, were records of their dreams or visions in the same way as were some face and body paintings. Some believed that they had a protective influence, or formed a sympathetic bond between the individual and his guardian. Some marks were pictures of the guardian spirit himself (p. 193).

SCARIFICATION.—Scarification was practiced by all young men during their training at puberty. Cuts were generally made on the arms and legs, and sometimes on the insteps, and backs of the hands and fingers. Some men training to be shamans or warriors cut their bodies as well. Sometimes a long slash followed each rib; or, again, many short horizontal cuts, occasionally close together, one above the other, were made on the upper arms or elsewhere. Some youths rubbed charcoal, or white or red ochre, into the wounds, which, when they healed, were similar to tattoo marks. Others who did not do

[302] a, pp. 317–321, b, 247–250.

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time after board carriers had come into full use bark carriers were retained by many families as beds for young babies in the lodges. When the mother returned from a journey the baby was taken off the board and placed in the bark basket. Drains made of various kinds of bark, sometimes of hide and rarely of wood, were used with bark carriers, especially for male infants. Shorter drains were also common with board carriers. I did not learn whether hammocks were used. It seems that no carriers made of rods woven together, and none of basketry, were made by any of the tribes. A few were made of stiff hide, when bark or boards were difficult to obtain. When a child had outgrown the bark and board carriers, carrying bags similar to those of the Thompson were used by all the tribes. It seems that the kind most common among the Sanpoil was of dressed skin, fawn skin, and sometimes bear skin. It opened at the shoulders or sides, had two straps which passed between the infant's legs, and an attached carrying-strap.[8] A kind used by the Similkameen, and also to a slight extent by the Okanagon, but probably not by the other tribes, was like the bags attached to board carriers. All had a lacing up the front, and an attached tump line. Some were stiffened at the back with a piece of hide or stiff dressed skin the full length of the bag. The foot parts of many bags were gathered up like the toe of a round-toed moccasin, either by stitching or with a draw string. The hood, or upper part of the bag above the lacing, was sometimes fixed in the same way. Occasionally the hood was stiffened or expanded with a light hoop sewed to the edge. The hood parts of some bags were large and projected forward considerably over the child's head.

Navel-string pouches were used by all the tribes, and were generally attached to the carrier. Instead of making a navel-string pouch and attaching it to the carrier the mother might also wrap up the navel string and hide it in a bag which she kept herself. Some of the Okanagon attached the pouch to the head of the carrier.

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HEAD DEFORMATION.—No head flattening was practiced, but some people think that the carrier board had the effect of shortening the heads of infants, as infants were always laid on their backs and hard pillows were often used. Soft pillows of skin stuffed with feathers or down were used by all careful mothers.

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FOSTERING OF CHILDREN.—Fostering of children was quite common. People who had many children gave some to friends and relatives to rear as their own children. Some of these children later returned to their parents, while others remained forever with their foster parents.

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EDUCATION.—Much attention was paid to the education of children. They were seldom beaten by their parents. Generally the

[8] Ottawa Museum, Nos. 147, 149-151.

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elders of each family admonished and instructed the children. The father, uncles, and grandfathers instructed the boys, and the mother, aunts, and grandmothers, the girls. Elder brothers and sisters also helped in the instruction of the juniors.

The ordeal of whipping the children was practiced in the wintertime, at least by the Okanagon and Similkameen. It was particularly common among the latter.

PUBERTY.—At puberty both sexes underwent a training similar to that customary among the Thompson, but seemingly less full. They washed and bathed in running water at least once a day. Girls prayed to the Day Dawn each morning, and rubbed their bodies with fir boughs when bathing to make themselves strong. The ceremonies performed by girls for making their bodies pure and clean, and those connected with fir branches and bathing, at least among the Similkameen and Okanagon, were the same as among the Thompson. A story is related in Similkameen of a poor orphan girl who performed no ceremonies of purification. She was devoured by lice near a little creek below Ashnola, and the place takes its name from this incident. Some people point out a little mound there as her grave. A common practice of girls was to make circles of stones. Sometimes other figures were made, such as squares, oblongs, diamonds, and crosses. Some circles were quite small, while others were from 1½ to 2 meters in diameter. In some circles the stones were put quite close together and in others some distance apart. Most stones were rather flat, light-colored, smooth, waterworn bowlders, weighing from 3 to 6 pounds; but different circles varied considerably in the size of the stones used. The circles were made on the ground or on the tops of flat bowlders, and often the girls carried the stones from a considerable distance, meanwhile praying that in after years their bodies might be strong and capable of carrying heavy burdens with ease. It is said that each stone represented a wish or prayer of the girl. Stones placed in the center or in pairs inside the circle represented special prayers. Some Similkameen say that the stones represented wishes, prayers, and offerings. Those representing prayers were generally placed down in the eastern part of the ring. Sometimes the girl sat down in the middle, and placed the stones down one at a time all round her, following the sun's course. As she placed each one down she made a prayer, stating what each was a token of.[9] As a rule a circle was not completed in one night, but the girl added stones from time to time. The hard and enduring nature of the stones was sometimes mentioned in prayers, the girls asking that their bodies be as strong and enduring as

[9] Compare custom of Thompson, Okanagon, Shuswap, Kutenai, and probably other tribes, of making offerings of stones at certain places. Prayers were made at the same time to the deity of the place, asking for good luck in hunting, good weather, prevention from harm. Each person placed down a stone, and passers-by did the same, so that heaps of small stones were formed.